

name was Muhammad Yunus. Muhammad Yunus, not that long ago in 1976, was an economics professor. Having taken a few economic courses—I remembered my professors—he would have blended in with the faculty of most universities.

He had an idea. It was an idea that was borne out of human experience. It involves basic economics. Dr. Yunus thought for a moment, what if we gave the poorest people on Earth a small sum of money, what would they do with it? Would they pay it back? They were two very basic questions. The issue came up because he saw in many of the poorest villages of Bangladesh people who were being exploited by those who would lend them money and charge them outrageous interest rates. He started something called Grameen Bank, which means the people's bank in their local language in 1976. The concept behind it was to give a very small loan to people who were very poor.

Now, 29 years later, as I stand in the Senate, Dr. Yunus's theory of microcredit and the Grameen Bank grew from a class project to a world-wide phenomenon. Today, there are 80 million families in the world who are benefiting from Dr. Yunus's concept of microcredit. We estimate some 400 million people will benefit; 98 percent of them are women. These are people who are part of a quiet revolution. I have seen it firsthand. Their lives have been transformed. They have enough money to feed their children, to buy basic tools, maybe to buy a goat for milk, perhaps to buy a sewing machine—basic things that transform their lives.

They pay the money back. They pay it back so others in the village can borrow money, as well. The average loan for many of Dr. Yunus's clients in Bangladesh is \$9. With \$9, many people go from being a beggar to a businessperson. He actually decided that because Bangladesh did not have a telephone system that he would buy cell phones and he would loan money to people so they could purchase them. Go to the remote villages and there sit 10 women holding a cell phone. With these cell phones, they go to their villages, they sell them minutes on the phone, and they make a living. They are the Grameen Telephone Company, the telephone women who borrowed enough money to buy a cell phone and now make a living with that cell phone. Incidentally, they charge their cell phones with a solar-powered generator. They are thinking ahead. This type of thing is happening all over the world.

The reason I raise it is because when Dr. Yunus came to see me 2 weeks ago here in Washington we talked about the tsunami. He said there is so much that needs to be done there. They need to rebuild communities. They need to rebuild lives, but do not overlook the fact that the ocean, as it came in,

swept away the schools and the teachers with it. Now the surviving children who are there are in camps trying to survive instead of thinking about thriving, going to school and giving back.

Dr. Yunus said to me, this man who comes up with amazing, simple ideas: Senator, why don't we create a tsunami scholars program? Why aren't we focusing on these children and their education? It is so simple and so obvious: To rebuild the schools, to bring in trained teachers so these kids have a chance but to take it a step beyond. What if we said across this world that we would challenge all colleges and universities to take two students from the tsunami area, students who would qualify to come to school, but to give these kids a chance at an education so they could go home and rebuild those villages and rebuild those nations?

Another challenge from Dr. Yunus, very basic, from a man who understands poverty at the most basic level. We are working on that now. We think we can put together a proposal that the United States can help to lead the world into considering.

The devastation of the tsunami took only a few minutes. It will take years to overcome. If we do the right things, we can rebuild those societies in the right way. The people living there are going to know a lot about us in the process. They will know that some of what they have been told about the United States is not true. Some who want them to be terrorists and to hate the United States will have a hard time explaining how the United States came to the assistance of these poor people after the tsunami and how we stood by them and their children in their education afterwards.

It is a small thing. It is important. It helps explain who we are. Tsunami scholarships are one example of how we can make certain we do not abandon the victims of this disaster after the headlines are gone. It is important we show this to the world, especially to the Muslim world, of what the American character is made.

I want to give these children of Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, India, and elsewhere a chance at an education that will not only transform their lives but allow them to go back and transform their countries.

The poet, Lord Byron, advised: Be thou the rainbow to the storms of life.

The peoples of the Indian Ocean have seen the storms. Let us be the rainbow that follows. Education is the most valuable tool you can put in the hands of anyone, particularly a child. As the children of the tsunami grow, let's make sure their opportunities for education are not constrained by misfortune or geography.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I understand we are in Republican-allocated time on morning business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, for the last 4 years, the United States has been locked in combat with the forces of terror. These extremists do not understand freedom and are trying even to this very day to spread their message of hate and oppression. America did not fire the first shot. Those killed on September 11 were innocent and did not deserve to die. They should be with us today. The forces of terror remain determined to defeat our Nation. They believe the United States will abandon Iraq and Afghanistan. They question our will to fight. They doubt our courage and our fortitude. They are wrong.

Our Nation has stepped up to fight and has never looked back. Under President Bush's leadership, our country has taken the battle to the enemy. As the President said in his State of the Union Address:

Our country is still the target of terrorists who want to kill many and intimidate us all, and we will stay on the offensive against them until the fight is won.

In less than 3 months after September 11, United States and Afghan forces toppled the Taliban regime, a brutal theocracy shielding al-Qaida and other terrorists. A year after September 11, the President challenged the United Nations to confront another protector of terror, Saddam Hussein. This cruel dictator threatened his neighbors, his people, and our country with his support for terror and his pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. He lied, cajoled, intimidated, and murdered. Our Nation did not stop with Afghanistan and Iraq. Our forces have sought out the enemy, cut off his funding resources, and disrupted his plans. We have captured thousands of terrorists, destroyed their networks, and prevented new attacks. There have been many successes in this war, and we should be encouraged and strengthened by our progress.

Our men and women in our Armed Forces are the real heroes in this conflict. They have fought and sacrificed for our country. Tragically, some have paid the ultimate price. Today nearly 200,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines are deployed in hotspots around the world. They continue to take the fight to the enemy and defeat him wherever he appears. Our men and

women in uniform are determined and ready.

I visited our troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, and I have seen with my own eyes their commitment and determination. It is phenomenal. They believe in what they are doing. They know they are making a difference. I am reminded of those who have already sacrificed much but yet have not given up and remain committed to their duty. Soldiers such as Army CPT David Roselle have been an inspiration to me and many other Coloradans. While on patrol last year in Iraq, Captain Roselle lost a leg when an antitank mine went off nearby. After several surgeries and intense physical therapy, Captain Roselle rebuilt and retrained his muscles. He conducted 4-hour sessions of daily exercise, including mountain biking, weight lifting, swimming, and climbing. Six months after his last surgery, Captain Roselle was skiing down the slopes of the Colorado Rockies.

But the story does not end there. Now just over a year later, Captain Roselle is still in the Army, and commands the headquarters company of the 3rd Army Cavalry and is preparing to deploy with the unit this spring. It is Captain Roselle's relentlessness, his call to duty, and his determination to defend our great Nation that tells me that our forces are strong and victory remains the only option.

Our men and women deployed in combat are not the only heroes. I cannot fully express my admiration for the families of these soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. For months at a time, military families are asked to hold everything together and support their loved ones overseas. They have done this and have done it with pride.

Organizations such as Colorado's Home Front Heroes have also stepped up and supported our troops. Home Front Heroes has provided family support when none was available and sent thousands of care packages to our soldiers deployed overseas. The organization led the drive to get the State of Colorado to designate March 29 Support Our Troops Day. And in one case, Home Front Heroes actually paid for family members to travel to Germany to visit their wounded loved ones.

I see it all over Colorado. There is a steely determination to see the global war on terrorism completed and victory achieved. That is why it is more important than ever for Congress to do its part.

This week the Senate will receive the President's request for supplemental appropriations. This money is critical to continuing the war on terror and ensuring our troops have the necessary equipment, training, and information to succeed on the battlefield. While some may argue that this money should be included in the budget or that certain items are not emergencies, none of us would argue that the money

is not needed. We know our troops need improved protection. Our chief of staff for the Army has testified that much of the Army's equipment is worn down and should be replaced. We owe it to our military families to provide the increased death gratuity.

As we consider this important appropriation, let us remember our successes so far. Fifty million people in Afghanistan and Iraq have tasted freedom and for most were able to cast a vote for the first time. Cities are being rebuilt and market economies are being developed. Terror networks have collapsed and funding for these networks is drying up. The war is not over, but we are making a difference. Congress must do its part. Now is the time for Congress to act.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I recently had the good fortune to travel to Iraq with my colleagues Senator INHOFE and Senator ISAKSON. With my own eyes, I saw the political genesis of a nation moving from tyranny to liberty. This process was made possible by the skill and determination of our troops, the strides being made by the Iraqi security forces, and the growing determination of the Iraqi people to engage in the democratic process.

I cannot say enough about the sacrifice and dedication of our troops. Their professionalism and devotion to duty are truly inspiring. And I am convinced now more than ever the United States has the finest military in the world. To those who know it best, our military's might is not defined only by its sheer firepower but by the individual soldiers who all play their part in making a multifaceted operation like this possible.

Of course, our service members perform their military responsibilities with pride, with diligence, and with professionalism. But many of them also work hand to hand with the Iraqis every day trying to bridge the gaps in language, culture, and community, to forge a common bond cemented by freedom. In doing so, our men and women in uniform represent all that is good about our country.

My fellow Senators and I also visited wounded American soldiers in a military hospital in Germany on our way back from Iraq. These brave men and women who have already sacrificed so much for the cause of freedom were mostly and primarily concerned with getting back together with their units and for the well-being of their peers who are still in Iraq. That warrior spirit among these brave men and women is inspiring and gave me pause to consider what is clearly at stake for the Iraqi people.

Our National Guard and Reserves are also playing a critical role in Iraq.

Three days ago I was honored to be able to welcome home the Second Battalion, 147th Field Artillery of the South Dakota National Guard from Iraq. These citizen soldiers put their lives on hold for over a year to provide critically needed support. They performed their mission effectively and honorably, and I applaud their selfless sacrifice.

The Iraqi people also deserve our admiration and thanks. While in Iraq we met with General David Petraeus who is in charge of training Iraqi securities forces. He was upbeat about their progress and the efficiency that is beginning to take root. General Petraeus's convictions were legitimized by the effectiveness shown by the Iraqi security forces on election day. Those forces were the first line of defense in successfully protecting over 5,000 polling stations throughout Iraq, none of which were penetrated by the insurgents. Some of the Iraqi security forces even gave their lives so their fellow countrymen could vote.

Perhaps the bravest of all on election day were the Iraqi citizens who also risked their lives by taking that critical first step on their journey to self-determination. The insurgents and terrorists grossly underestimated the Iraqi people's courage and thirst for freedom. The Iraqi people did not buckle under threats of violence and murder. Instead they spoke out with a great voice that has been heard throughout the world and well into the annals of recorded history. They have demanded their right to self-determination, their right to live their lives as they see fit, free from tyranny, free from fear, free from extremism. On election day, they earned that right.

Let me be clear, there is still much work that needs to be done, and there are still enemies to fight. But freedom's light does not shine without a price. The Iraqi people know this. They understand a new Iraq must not be dominated by only one ethnic or religious sect. Many Iraqis I met with, including Shiites and others, expressed the belief that for democracy to work, the Sunnis, who now find themselves the minority, must be a part of and represented in an inclusive Iraqi government.

Of course we all look forward to a free and stable Iraq. But we should not attempt to impose an artificial time line on this goal. Instead we should focus on a conditions-based schedule that allows for a responsible transfer of responsibility from American to Iraqi troops. Our generals support that concept, not arbitrary deadlines. When the conditions are right for us to leave, we will know and so will a free and sovereign Iraq.

I believe the recent elections and the self-confidence they have inspired in the Iraqi people may represent a turning point in the struggle for democracy

in Iraq. With the bravery and the dedication of our troops and the courage of the Iraqi people and their security forces, we can look forward to the day when our troops come home with the honor they have earned.

We will soon be debating legislation that will provide funding and resources for our troops to complete their mission. It is critical that in the course of this debate we understand what is happening today in Iraq and what it means for American troops who are bringing about freedom and democracy. We must make sure they have the resources, the equipment, the training, and the weaponry to succeed in this mission.

The insurgents, who continue to prey upon the fears of the Iraqi people, who resort to tactics and thuggery and indiscriminately kill innocent people, are not going to go quietly. It is important that we complete this mission. It is important that we win and secure the freedom of the Iraqi people. It was clear to me, having traveled to Iraq and listened firsthand to the stories that have been shared and conveyed by Iraqi voters, who for the first time were able to take that ink-stained finger and mark a ballot, that they are committed to the cause of freedom and democracy in their own country.

We heard statements such as "we are profoundly grateful." We heard statements talking about how the mission is succeeding, but it is still fragile, how we need to continue to focus on training and equipping Iraqi security forces, and that the reconstruction needs to move faster.

Engagement with the Iraqis is the way for us to succeed, and giving the Iraqis the opportunity to govern, which is what the elections were all about. Giving the Iraqis the opportunity to defend the freedom they secured when they voted on election day should be our mission in Iraq. It is important as a nation, as a Congress, and here in the Senate, that we take the steps necessary to ensure that our troops—our young men and women who are bravely and courageously setting and laying the foundation for a safe, strong, and free Iraq—have what they need to complete that mission.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Georgia is recognized.

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, the President has sent to us an \$81.9 billion supplemental for our war against terror and the fight in Iraq and Afghanistan. This morning, in Congress Daily, I read a quote about that supplemental from the distinguished ranking member of the Appropriations Committee:

This supplemental request provides support for our men and women in uniform, but it provides little basis for optimism for a stable and secure Iraq.

The comment of the respected distinguished Senator from West Virginia deserves amplification in terms of stability and security in Iraq.

I am pleased to have just returned from Iraq with Senator THUNE, who just spoke, and to have had the chance to see firsthand the results of what our men and women in our Armed Forces have been doing in Iraq since we deposed Saddam Hussein and began providing peace and a foundation for future security. In fact, it is that foundation I would like to address.

There are three key pillars to security and stability in Iraq. The first pillar is for us to continue this year, and for a time uncertain, to provide the Iraqi people with security so they can complete the writing of their constitution, hold their permanent elections, and allow their democracy to flourish. The second pillar is that government itself. It is essential that we pass this supplemental to continue the security and allow those who were recently elected to form their constitution and do their work.

When you talk about optimism, I have to share a story about the recent visit. Senator THUNE, Senator INHOFE, and I met with deputy Ambassador Salih, a Kurd. We met alone, with no staff, no press, no encouragement, total candor. We asked Mr. Salih, a Kurd in the minority—and even though the results of the election were not complete at the time we were there, we knew they would be in a minority. We asked:

Don't you fear that the Shiites, who will inevitably be in the majority, will overrun you?

He said:

Oh, no, we have a secret weapon.

This is a Kurdish leader in the middle of Iraq in the 21st century who said he had a secret weapon. He said that secret weapon is one word: "Filibuster." Then he proceeded to describe their study of American democracy and our Republic. If there were ever a reason for optimism about what this supplemental provides for the people of Iraq and their stability and security, it is one of their minority leaders proudly stating one of the pillars and principles of our Government as the way they would ensure that the majority never overran the minority.

Following that meeting, we went and met with Dr. Al-Rubiae, a Shiite, obviously to be in the majority. We worried that since, for so many years, they had been the victims of the Sunnis—since they now would be in a majority, would there be a propensity to overrun the minority? So we asked:

Dr. al-Rubiae, what will you do? Will the minority have a voice?

He said:

The American Constitution requires two-thirds vote to amend the Constitution. We will require two-thirds vote to adopt ours.

The point is very clear. He, too, had studied Adams and Jefferson and our

Founding Fathers. Knowing he would be in the majority, he recognized that the peace, strength, and stability in Iraq was predicated upon the majority not overrunning the minority.

So when we question whether this supplemental provides any optimism for stability and security in Iraq, I submit those two absolutely accurate quotes of two gentlemen—one in the majority and one in the majority—those who will take part in writing the constitution. Who would have thought they would quote Jefferson or Adams or our Constitution 6 months ago, or a year ago, or 2 years ago? It is because of the men and women we have sent into harm's way, the coalition forces, our commitment to freedom, and our present commitment to spreading democracy around the globe that today provides great optimism in Iraq.

But there is a third pillar we must consider as well, which is the future ability of the Iraqis—once their constitution is written, their government is established, and our troops lessen—to be able to secure themselves. There have been a lot of comments about whether they can do that. I give you comments that Lieutenant General Petraeus shared with us on our visit.

First, the coalition forces have trained 136,065 Iraqis. Our goal by the end of this year is 200,000. Recruiting has mushroomed since the election. In fact, on television, some of you have seen the lines the day after the election that showed up at recruiting centers that were previously vacant. So we know the resources are coming. Our coalition forces are helping us with their training, and already the Iraqis who are trained are demonstrating heroism just like the heroism of our American soldiers. There is no better example than this: On election day, when at a polling place an Iraqi-trained soldier by our coalition forces was in the first line of defense, as were Iraqis at every polling place, all 5,200. He spotted a suspicious character. He approached him. He noticed the bulging waistline, symmetrically indicating a bomb. He threw himself on the bomber and the bomber detonated the bomb. The Iraqi soldier, trained by coalition forces, gave his life. Those in line to vote, identifying with their index finger their commitment to liberty, were not injured and did not leave. They voted and democracy was born in that precinct, in that district in Iraq, in large measure, because of the bravery and heroism of that Iraqi soldier, trained by United States and coalition forces.

So as we consider the \$81.9 billion for the continuation of our effort in Iraq and Afghanistan, and to a certain extent in the Middle East, if we look for optimism, it surrounds us everywhere. Only after our engagement in Afghanistan were the Taliban deposed. Only after our engagement in Iraq was Hussein captured. Only after our commitment against terrorism and countries

that harbor terrorists did Libya give up its weapons of mass destruction.

Recently, the Palestinians elected a new leader, Abbas, and already the prospect for hope and peace in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine is brighter. To me, that is great optimism for the future of security and stability, not only in Iraq, not only in the Middle East, but throughout the world.

We also must ask ourselves this: If we don't have optimism in the investment we make in the war on terror and the spreading of democracy, then what dividend would we receive by making no investment at all?

My submission to you is that we would be fighting the war on terror not only overseas but on our own streets. We would be spending more than we invested in this war to try to be a defensive country, rather than an offensive country helping to spread democracy wherever people yearn for it.

I have great respect for those who will question any spending we might entertain. I understand the concerns about the investment that we may make in the coming weeks in the supplemental for Iraq. But I will tell you that with the comments of Deputy Ambassador Salih, the comments of Dr. al-Rubiae, and the evidence of the heroism of the Iraqi soldier at the polling place Sunday, a week ago, it is clear to me this supplemental will continue that major pillar of support for democracy in the Middle East; that is, the presence of U.S. men and women in our Armed Forces to continue to secure that nation so it can finalize a constitution and have permanent elections for its peace and its security.

Our President has sent us a document to make an expanded investment in peace and democracy. I submit to you that the evidence for optimism abounds in Iraq and I, for one, will stand by this President and stand by our men and women in harm's way, so that their democracy, which has now bloomed, will flourish in a part of the world that has never seen it.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, as I understand, we are in a period for morning business?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY. Is there a time limit on statements in morning business?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time until 12:30 p.m. is equally divided.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank the Chair.

NOMINATION OF MICHAEL CHERTOFF

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I support the nomination of Mr. Chertoff to be Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security. He brings a wealth

of experience to this position and that experience will serve him well, because the challenges facing this department in the post 9/11 era continue to be immense. The agency can never afford to drop its guard for a moment. From protecting our borders to managing difficult immigration issues, Mr. Chertoff will be at the heart of many of the country's most complex security issues.

Just under 2 years ago, the Department of Homeland Security was created in the largest overhaul of Federal agencies in more than half a century. It merged 185,000 Federal workers and 22 agencies in order to create a more national effort to protect ourselves in the wake of September 11.

It is a job that requires overseeing the development of innovative methodologies and techniques to prevent and deter terrorist attacks. It requires rapid response to threats and hazards, and it requires effective information analysis and information sharing between agencies at all levels—Federal, State and local.

The Secretary's job is to strengthen and maintain the security of our airports, seaports and land borders. But, equally important is the Secretary's ability to welcome the more than 500 million citizens, permanent residents, lawful visitors, students, and temporary workers who cross our borders each year.

As Secretary, Mr. Chertoff will have a major role on immigration policy. One of the most important responsibilities of his position is to see that the immigration service and enforcement functions are well-coordinated, and that the service functions are not given short shrift. Without strong leadership and the insistence on close coordination, the officials in the various immigration bureaus of the department are prone to issue conflicting policies and legal interpretations and create disarray in the department's mission.

Questions have been raised about Mr. Chertoff's role in the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice in developing the investigative strategy that led to the department's detention of hundreds of immigrants after 9/11. According to the report of the department's Inspector General in June 2003, there were "significant problems in the way the detainees were handled." There were also problems that included a failure to distinguish detainees suspected of ties to terrorism from detainees with no such connection. The Inspector General found there was inhumane treatment of detainees at Federal detention centers, unnecessarily prolonged detention resulting from the department's "hold until cleared" policy, secret detentions without formal charges, interference with access to counsel, and closed hearings.

I met with Judge Chertoff and raised my concerns about these detainees and

his role in formulating the policy. He recognized and understood that significant problems had occurred at the Justice Department in the treatment of the detainees and indicated a willingness to re-evaluate current policies and put in place protocols to prevent these abuses from recurring.

Unfortunately, the administration has not been nearly as accommodating. It has refused to provide vital documents to the two Senate Committees charged with oversight over the Department of Homeland Security, the Homeland Security and Government Accountability Committee and the Judiciary Committee. Specifically, the administration continues to play hide and seek with documents that would shed light on the issues of torture and interrogation. In doing so, the administration persists in displaying a disturbing disregard for our constitutional role in Presidential nominations. By refusing to come clean and provide necessary documents, and by discouraging responsiveness and candor from its nominees on the issue of torture, the administration is only making the crisis worse, further embarrassing the Nation in the eyes of the world, and casting greater doubt on its commitment to the rule of law.

As Senator LEVIN has emphasized, FBI e-mails state that while Mr. Chertoff headed the Criminal Division, discussions occurred between the FBI and the Justice Department about interrogation abuses. The e-mails indicate that FBI personnel were deeply concerned about the interrogation techniques being used at Guantanamo Bay by the Department of Defense and the FBI communicated their concerns directly to certain persons in the Criminal Division.

The e-mails in their public form, however, were heavily redacted to avoid disclosing who spoke to whom. Although the e-mails were never provided by the administration to the Senate, we were able to obtain the documents in the same way as the general public obtained them, by surfing the web for the redacted documents as released in a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit.

Senator LEVIN and Senator LIEBERMAN asked for the unedited version of the e-mails in order to learn who in the FBI communicated the information and who in the Criminal Division received it. The request was denied, even though the information might well have been highly relevant to our consideration of Mr. Chertoff's nomination. It is beyond debate that our advice and consent function under the constitution includes inquiries into matters which may reflect on the nominee.

Mr. Chertoff may have no knowledge about the e-mails or the FBI discussion, but part of our constitutional obligation is to obtain enough information to make an informed decision. The